

The Senate could also consider any other legislative or executive items cleared for action. As a reminder, Members have until 10 a.m. to file second-degree amendments to the bankruptcy bill.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order, following the remarks of the Senator from Nebraska, Senator KERREY.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The request for the Senate adjournment is granted, without objection. The Senate is in quorum call. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SESSIONS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

SITUATION IN RUSSIA

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, 7 years ago last month, hard-line and aging Communist bosses in the Soviet Union made a clumsy attempt at a coup d'etat against then President Gorbachev. The coup accelerated the slow-motion implosion of the Soviet empire. By December of that year, our old nemesis had collapsed in an overwhelming, decisive and total victory for the United States. This ended 50 years of cold war that had exacted a tremendous toll in blood, sweat and treasure from our Nation. Our emotions ran the gamut from pride to relief—relief especially that the dark cloud of nuclear annihilation seemed to have passed and, in a more subtle way, relief that the heavy burden of leading the world in a battle for freedom against communism had been lifted from our shoulders. We clamored for a peace dividend. We reveled in our newfound ability to focus the Nation's energy on domestic affairs.

But the last few weeks of events in Russia have been a rude wake-up call, a convincing demonstration that neither the danger nor the burden have been lifted. If anything, Mr. President, they are greater. Russia's economy and currency have been stressed to the point of breaking. President Yeltsin's government is in grave crisis. The men and women who tend Russia's nuclear arsenal—the one remaining threat on this planet to the instantaneous extinction of the United States—have not been paid, by some reports, inasmuch as a year.

The danger is still great, Mr. President, but so is the burden, and it is that burden I want to discuss this evening.

We may react to these developments with a tinge of surprise. It is an axiom of the American tradition—an axiom, incidentally, in which I firmly believe—that democracies do not behave this way. When last most of us tuned in to the Russian saga, they had held democratic elections. They had abandoned central planning and other tenets of Communist ideology and embraced basic precepts of capitalism. They had agreed to swallow the magic elixir that we all assumed would cure the disease and now—just when we thought it might be safe to retreat from our global responsibilities—they are sick again. And once again, the burden of global leadership is thrust upon us.

What happened?

Let me stipulate, first of all, that I don't believe capitalism and democracy are magic elixirs that cure all diseases in a single dose. But I do believe that, taken as a rigorous regimen of treatment, they are about as good a cure for a whole variety of ills as we will ever find.

What we are learning, Mr. President, isn't that democracy and free markets are bad medicine, but that it is tough medicine that works as part of a sustained regimen. We are learning that democracy does not exist simply because the first election was called, and that capitalism does not exist the moment after the central planners are fired. Infrastructure must be built to sustain and manage these systems in a lawful manner. I believe the true test of the success of Russia will be determined by our ability to help the Russian people build this infrastructure.

The first institution that must undergird capitalism and democracy is the rule of law. The importance of that institution is illustrated by one of this century's great inventions, the airplane. Five years passed from the first successful flight at Kitty Hawk to the first public demonstration of the "Wright Model A" in France. The reason is that the Wright brothers were busy litigating a patent. It was that protection—the protection of law for their invention—that unleashed the ingenuity of the air age. Without the knowledge that the law protected their right to earn a living off their own ingenuity, the air age might never have been born.

It is exactly this sort of simple institution of law that makes capitalism possible. Such institutions do not yet exist in Russia.

There is a joke that in America, when two businessmen agree on something, put their agreement down on a piece of paper and sign their names to it, they have a contract. In Russia, all they have is a piece of paper. Without the rule of law, the simple act of opening a business, marketing a new idea or so much as buying a house becomes foolish and risky.

What we have learned, and what the Russian people are learning, is that democracy is also hard work, and our

challenge now is to help the Russian people build the institutions that enable freedom to succeed. That Russia is still struggling to make democracy work should come as no surprise to us. For 222 years, we have been struggling with the same questions. On this day we are debating a bill whose goal is to fine-tune our own democracy. We helped the Russian people become free; now we must help them do the much harder work of being free. Mr. President, the true test of the success of Russia will be determined by our ability to help the Russian people build this infrastructure.

Despite these tall hurdles, the Russian people deserve credit for the long distance they have traveled.

They have created a democratic environment with the guarantee of essential freedoms like speech and press.

They have a functioning democratic electoral system. Boris Yeltsin is the democratically elected President of Russia. In turn, there is a democratically elected Duma controlled by an opposition party. As a result, Russia has learned the lesson that we in this body know all too well—democratic politics sometimes means gridlock.

Here as I see them are the areas in which Russia has fallen short:

Simply put, they have not done enough to establish the rule of law.

Because the style of capitalism they have implemented does not rest on the solid base of the rule of law, economic interactions have become distorted and unstable.

The government has not lived up to its responsibilities, and by failing to collect taxes and pay pensions, back wages and so forth, the government has lost the faith of the people. Corrupt privatization of state-owned enterprises and the failure to implement reforms, such as the protection of private property, have given the people a distorted vision of capitalism.

Take just the collection of taxes. We all know in this body that we just reformed the laws governing our Internal Revenue Service and reformed them because a significant percentage of Americans no longer trusted the tax collector.

But what we failed to acknowledge is, as bad as our system is, and as much as it can be improved—and I hope this legislation will improve it—a well functioning tax collector is a critical part, and a trusted tax collector is a critical part, of a functioning free market democratic form of Government.

As a result, the Russian people have become discouraged by "cowboy capitalism" and do not realize a true market economy should have the checks and balances of the rule of law.

Mr. President, we cannot be content to treat these simply as Russia's problems. And I submit there are three reasons why we cannot.

First, Russia's problems are our problems. Our own economy is not closely entwined with theirs, but it is not insulated either. Furthermore, the

potential consequence of allowing this economic crisis to spread throughout the world poses too great a threat to our own economic security to stand idly by and watch the total collapse of the Russian political and economic system. Much more ominously, political instability and nuclear weapons are a dangerous mix.

Second, the Russian people are human beings who are suffering. Our hearts and hands of assistance should go out to them.

Third, and most important, the United States of America is the first-born child of democracy in the modern age. We are the oldest and most successful, and when democracy is being born, history has called us to the duty of being its midwife, not a disinterested observer in the waiting room. We may wish this burden had been not cast on us, but it has. This is our duty.

Mr. President, what can we do?

First of all, I believe we must look at Russian democracy in terms of decades, not just years. The future is still very bright for them. It is a great nation blessed with vast resources and talented people. I remain confident that the transition to democracy will be successful. Nothing will cool their ardor for democratic reforms more than if we become pessimistic about the possibility of their democracy surviving.

We know it is tough. We know it is difficult. All of us have faced difficult moments in a democracy where we have wondered whether or not our system itself could work, but we always rise to the task. We always manage to rise to the challenge, to do that little more that is necessary to make our system work. We simply have to say to the Russian people over and over: "Do not be discouraged. It's far better than what you had before. The rule of law and the opportunity to govern yourself will be frustrating, it will produce disappointments, but do not stop persevering. Your children and your grandchildren will reward you with praise if you do."

Secondly, Mr. President, we have to continue to engage Russia as a partner. Not only is it desirable for us to do so as a consequence of their need, but it is desirable for us to do so as a consequence of ours. They are a permanent member of the Security Council. They are actively involved in many of the most important world issues that we face. And it is imperative that we continue to treat them as a full partner.

Third, we must continue to support the International Monetary Fund. While imperfect, and certainly demanding reform itself to become more open to our observation to know what they are doing and the decisions that they are making, it is still the only institution that pools the world's resources to address large-scale financial crises. I am pleased that the Senate has once again passed legislation to provide \$18 billion to replenish the IMF's capital base.

Next, we must continue to work with the Russians on arms control and security issues. Instability in Russia is still the greatest foreign threat to our safety. Working to reduce nuclear and conventional arms will help Russia financially and improve the safety of the American people.

I do not mean to imply by that that arms control all by itself will solve this problem. We have lived through the tragedy of disarmament from the Second World War. We watched what happened when this Nation said in the 1920s: There are no threats out there, and therefore we are going to disarm. We have an obligation, based upon that memory, to keep our military and Armed Forces as strong as necessary, not just to meet today's threats but to meet tomorrow's threats. Still, it is true that the great amount of effort to reduce the stockpile of nuclear weapons will produce tremendous benefits not just to the people of the United States but to the people of all of this world.

Our most important long-term challenge, though, is working with Russia to develop the rule of law. This has to be a hands-on process of teaching. I believe the most important effort is likely to be the least expensive, and that is just long-term exchange programs, giving their people a chance to come here to see how democracy works, to understand the importance of having that law there to protect you not only so you can speak but so that you can start your business and enjoy the benefits that come as a consequence of the reward that we provide people in the market system—and it simply isn't there—to show them that we have also faced in the past problems with Government officials who are corrupted, but again the rule of law is there to protect the people, that they cannot tolerate corruption and they need not tolerate corruption in order to have a market system, and that they should not be discouraged as a consequence of the failures and the problems that they experience in the birthing years of their democracy and their market system.

We need to tell them, Mr. President, as we no doubt can, that we experience similar problems, that it is a long voyage, that we on the Fourth of July, we on Memorial Day, and we on Veterans Day, and we in great moments in our history stand and pay tribute not to ourselves but to our forefathers for the sacrifice of blood, for the sacrifice of treasury, for putting themselves on the line for our freedom.

We need to say that the burden on freedom is a great burden, that freedom is not free, that in wartime we must do as John Miller in "Saving Private Ryan" did—put down our chalk and give up our careers as teachers and put our lives on the line at the beaches of Normandy.

But in peacetime the burden is, we have to put our own selves on the line to fight to make our laws give people

the protection and the freedom that they deserve, to come together and argue, to come together with our ideas, as we do here, day after day after day.

We have, I think, an opportunity, through exchange programs, through very small hands-on efforts, an opportunity to show the people of Russia that their great character that enabled them to turn back Napoleon, that enabled them to turn back Adolph Hitler, that enabled them to survive so much that it is almost unimaginable that they were able to get the job done, that a people that can do that can make democracy and free markets work not just for them but for their futures.

Mr. President, I hope and believe indeed there is reason to have optimism, that this Congress will not, on behalf of the American people, shirk our responsibilities and our duties to work with the people of Russia to make this experiment in democracy in their country as big a success as it has been for us.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 9:30 a.m., Friday, September 11, 1998.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 7:37 p.m., adjourned until Friday, September 11, 1998, at 9:30 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 10, 1998:

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

T. J. GLAUGHTER, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF ENERGY, VICE ELIZABETH ANNE MOLER.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

HAROLD HONGJU KOH, OF CONNECTICUT, TO BE ASSISTANT OF STATE FOR DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND LABOR, VICE JOHN SHATTUCK.

B. LYNN FASCOE, OF VIRGINIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO MALAYSIA.

IN THE NAVY

HERBERT LEE BUCHANAN III, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, VICE JOHN WADE DOUGLASS.

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

LT. GEN. THOMAS R. CASE, 0000

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

To be major general

BRIG. GEN. DARREL W. MCDANIEL, 0000

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

R. RAND BEERS, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR EXECUTIVE SERVICE, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, VICE ROBERT S. GELBARD, RESIGNED.

PETER F. ROMERO, OF FLORIDA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, VICE JEFFREY DAVIDOW.

C. DAVID WELCH, OF VIRGINIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-